

PAN.
CHINA

MEMORANDUM

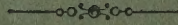
ON THE

PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS

IN

CHINA.

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of the Evangelical Alliance.*



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INTRODUCTION.

THE Christian Church in China has been so seriously hurt by persecution during the last few months, that a collection of some of the facts in pamphlet form has been deemed advisable. It is not intended, however, to leave the impression, on the one hand, that the persecutions which the Chinese Church has recently suffered are here exhaustively detailed, or, on the other, that the Chinese authorities have in every case been unwilling to deal justly by the native Christians. Nay, as regards this latter point, we could, at the outset, gratefully acknowledge the not infrequent aid rendered by local officials in suppressing the outbreaks of petty animosity which have so often marked the history of the rising Churches in this country.

At the same time, facts recently recorded in the public prints are in such glaring violation, not only of international Treaties, but also of the universal laws of humanity, that the republication of some of these, in succinct and summarized form, may prove the best means of checking their recurrence.

The first extract is from an article on "The Political Status of Missionaries," in the March number of *The Chinese Recorder*, by the Rev. T. Richard. The facts alluded to are, Mr. Richard says, but "a few of the instances which have come to his knowledge," and adds, if the cases of persecution "which are known to every Legation in Peking, and those known to every Consul, and every Missionary, in China, were added, we can imagine what a long list we might have." The succeeding articles would form part of that list. They are taken from various publications, and the writers are Missionaries of various nationalities. But besides the testimony of Missionaries, we have added a quotation from a letter of the China Correspondent of one of the leading London journals,

to show that the facts are so notorious that they have not escaped the notice of others not immediately concerned. And lest it should be thought that the persecution of Christians is wholly limited to the Canton province, or wholly due to the present troubles with France, a further extract is appended, giving particulars of a continued series of petty persecutions, which have been going on for years past in the North. Whether our readers will accept the conclusion drawn in the closing article, we are unable to say ; but whether they do so or not, these conclusions are not hastily arrived at, not unsupported by fact, and not drawn from a narrow range of observation.

THE POLITICAL STATUS OF MISSIONARIES AND NATIVE CHRISTIANS IN CHINA.

BY THE REV. T. RICHARD.

(Extract from an article in the Chinese Recorder, March, 1885.)

AFTER referring at length to the action of the British Government in regard to Art. VIII in the Treaty between China and Great Britain, which reads as follows:—"The Christian religion, as professed by Protestants or Roman Catholics, inculcates the practice of virtue, and teaches man to do as he would be done by. Persons teaching it or professing it, therefore, shall alike be entitled to the protection of the Chinese authorities; nor shall any such, peaceably pursuing their calling, and not offending against the laws, be persecuted or interfered with." And alluding to the various interpretations which have since been put upon that Article, together with the famous "Memorandum of the Tsungli Yamen upon the Missionary Question," which was circulated 8th, February 1871, he proceeds:—

"Having dwelt on the Treaty, or British modifications of it, and Chinese modifications of it, let us now glance at it in action, to see, after 15 years trial of it, if it is as satisfactory as the two Governments anticipated.

"There is in China, as in every other country, a number of people who strive to do good. The so-called pro-foreign party in China belongs in the main to that number. Some of these mandarins and gentry have sacrificed all prospect of official preferment, and have braved the brunt of a very

powerful public opinion, rather than be a party to blind prejudice. They are kind to missionaries, and just to Christians, and long to do good to their country by every means in their power. It is to these that we are indebted for the large amount of toleration which we have enjoyed in China, such as Protestants enjoy in Chihli, Kiangsu, Chekiang and Szch'uen provinces, and in the other provinces also, wherever there are friendly officials. For this we desire to record our very grateful thanks. It shows that freedom to reside in the interior is not fraught with as many evils as was once thought. Unfortunately, however, the party which has more prejudice than knowledge about foreign affairs has always been the stronger one, and of late this is fast getting everything in its own way. The views of this party in regard to Christianity may be gathered from the following facts:—

“1. We begin with the Missionary Circular of the Tsung-li Yamên. It assumed that missionaries were bad, and that the converts since 1860 were also bad. The eight rules were therefore drawn up in order to check their progress.

“2. Viceroy Li Hung Chang, several years ago, wrote a preface to Li Kwei's travels, in which he calls attention to the fact that there were able men in the West, who were not to be despised, and so forth. But that book makes much of the fact that the Chinese students in America were not allowed to go to any places of worship there.

“3. Viceroy Tsêng Kwo Ch'uen, now of Nanking, whilst gratefully receiving the bulk of the Famine Relief, through the hands of missionaries refused even to *see* the same missionaries when they went to see him in behalf of those who are now suffering for conscience' sake.

“4. Viceroy Chang Tsz Tung, now of Canton, on having a petition put before him to consider measures to prevent missionary troubles, never replied to it, but sent instead a Commission of three officials to ask the Missionary if he would not leave his missionary work and undertake the superintendence of mining and smelting in the province.

"5. Successive Governors in the province of Shantung have persistently refused, for years, to punish the leaders of a mob attack on a missionary house in the provincial capital.

"6. The High Commissioner P'eng-ü-lin publishes his memorial to the Throne, for the suppression of Christianity: (1) by registration, (2) by having a mark outside the Christian's door, (3) by having a badge of disgrace on the Christian's clothes.

"7. The provincial authorities in Canton, we are told, issue instructions to those below them in eight characters: 'Provoke not the people, delay all cases.'

"8. The provincial Chancellor (Huotai) of Shansi instructs professors to inform their students that, if they join Christianity, they shall have their degrees taken away.

"9. A Taotai in Shansi, when a complaint was made of a degree being taken away from a man for being a Christian, wrote in reply that such talk grated on his ears.

"10. The prefect of Tehnghan-fu, in Hupeh, tried to get a missionary out of the city, but finding it difficult to do so by ordinary measures, took advantage of the examinations and issued the two following subjects to the candidates to write about:—

"(a) That which the people desire I desire.

"(b) Drive out all heresies.

"11. The Prefect of Tsingchow-fu, in Shantung, encouraged the people to oppose missionaries, by threatening to dismiss from his service those who would continue to visit the missionary.

"12. Magistrates in Kwangtung, Fokien, Hupeh, Shantung, and Shansi provinces, have taken a variety of means to oppose Christians. Some have issued proclamations against Christians, some have been present at mob attacks on Christian houses, have suggested burning of houses when the mob had only thrown stones, have issued warrants against Christians on false complaints, have not punished their opponents for real charges, and known to them to be so, but let them go quite

free. They have exacted promises from the people to insult the first foreigners that come by. When attempts are made on the lives of missionaries, no punishment, so far as we know, was administered. It is almost the universal rule to beat and imprison any landlord, or middleman, who will dare to rent a house to the missionaries in the interior.

"13. A book of cases of persecutions published for the guidance of officials as precedents.

"These are a few of the instances which have come to the knowledge of the writer. If those known to every Legation in Peking, and those known to every Consul and every Missionary in China were added, we can imagine what a long list we might have. Result of this course:—

"The most marked, perhaps, is what followed on the publication of Commissioner P'eng's Memorial, when eighteen Protestant chapels were either destroyed or robbed within a few weeks afterwards. Missionaries in Kwangtung, Shantung, Shensi, Honan, Hupeh, and Kweichow, have been compelled to leave some of their stations. Some have been violently attacked, native Christians are attacked with clubs and swords, robbed of their property and their clothes. They are also driven out of their houses and villages, and subjected to endless annoyances and cruel privations. Their women we are told are subjected to worse indignities. An eye-witness told us that it was quite common to see soldiers in Canton firing their guns in the chapel doors in passing. He saw a soldier maliciously stepping up behind a missionary, drawing his sword, and making the motion of cutting his head off. The ordinary insulting names have now given way to another which is common in the street "Ta," "Kill him!" It will be a mistake to think that this opposition all arises out of the proximity of Canton to Annam. Early this spring, the cry to exterminate was used by one of the Chinese Magistrates in Shantung, and reported to Peking. As for native Christians both in Shantung and Kwangtung, Magistrates have refused to consider their petitions. In Kwangtung there was a refusal, even after the Foreign Consul requested their case to be attended to."

That the cases so briefly alluded to in the above article may be made more intelligible to our readers, we reprint, in full, an article by the Rev. Dr. Graves, of Canton, an American Missionary, entitled "Persecution in Kwangtung," from *The Chinese Recorder*, Nov.-Dec. 1884, and further particulars from the pens of both English and German Missionaries.

PERSECUTION IN KWANGTUNG.

BY REV. R. H. GRAVES, D.D.

"The autumn of 1884 will be memorable in the history of Christianity in China, on account of the wave of anti-Christian and anti-foreign excitement which swept over the province of Kwangtung. In the course of a few weeks 18 Protestant chapels were destroyed or robbed. The degree of violence which they suffered varied from simple robbery of the clothes, &c., of the preacher to the total destruction of the furniture and building and the robbery and maltreatment of the native Christians in general. I make no allusion to the violence done to Roman Catholic chapels, as the priests in this province are French, and it is not strange that the people should vent their indignation against France for her unjustifiable demands and violence, by reprisals on French property, and abuse of those connected with the French.

"Speaking, then, only of Protestant chapels, the different nationalities and various Missions represented here all came in for a share in the losses. 10 chapels interfered with by the heathen were American, 7 were English, and 1 was German. 5 were connected with the American Presbyterian Mission; 1 with the English Presbyterian; 3 with the English Wesleyan; 2 with the London Mission; 1 with the English Church Mission; 4 with the American Baptists (2 at Canton at 2 at Swatow); 1 with the American Congregational Mission, and 1 with the German Berlin Mission. Several of these were

near Swatow and the rest were in the vicinity of Canton. In Canton city the chapels were threatened, and saved only by the active efforts of the Consuls, who procured proclamations from the Chinese authorities. For two months the chapels were closed and there was no public preaching to the heathen. The Missionaries and other foreigners could not even venture on the streets, so great was the hatred toward all foreigners. At the instigation of the *Chinese Mail*, a rabid native newspaper in Hongkong, several of the Tartar soldiers were imprisoned simply for the crime of being Christians, and were released only through the efforts of the American Consul.

Our girls' schools, of which there are many in Canton, were almost all closed, through parents withdrawing their children and landlords refusing to rent their houses for Christian schools. In the country, several places rented as chapels were also resumed by the landlords who feared mob violence to their property. Colporteurs could find no sale for their books, and met with nothing but abuse. Thus all forms of Christian work among the heathen were suspended. Underlings from the Yamêns arrested the Christians and extorted money from them or threatened them with the direct punishments. Converts were beaten, and the clothes stripped off even of the women. (At Shinhing they were decent enough to bring a female along to take the dresses off the women.) Not only were chapels attacked, but the private dwellings and shops of the Christians were also mobbed, and their contents destroyed or stolen.

What were the Chinese Mandarins doing while these things were going on? Generally speaking, *nothing*. No arrests of rioters were made, no underlings were dismissed, no stolen property restored. In some cases, at the importunity of the Christians for help, impotent proclamations were posted up. At Shinhing, after one chapel had been destroyed, the District Magistrate sent a guard to protect one within the city walls, and put out a good proclamation, but his efforts were hindered by his superior, the Department Magistrate. At Poklo the District Magistrate has been an honorable exception, as he

has, since the riot, arrested and punished some of the leading rioters, restored some of the stolen property, and offered some indemnity for the chapel destroyed. At Fatshan the authorities afforded Dr. Wenyon protection, but said they dared not arrest the rioters. They have since promised to rebuild one of the chapels demolished. On the other hand the Tsingluen Magistrate put out a proclamation stating that the American chapel belonged to the French and sat by in his chair while the rioting was going on, making no effort to check it as long as the houses of the heathen were not interfered with. The only help he afforded the Christians was to send some of them away in a boat after their houses had been destroyed, their property stolen, and they themselves, even old men and women, beaten and stripped of their clothes. It is stated on good authority that the secret instructions sent by the Provincial authorities to all the Districts were couched in eight characters "Provoke not the people: Delay all cases." This policy has certainly been carried out to the letter, as no efforts were made to check the violence of the mob, and the Christians were snubbed whenever they made complaints. The cases of restitution alluded to above have been *since* the riots were over. The Chinese Authorities were generally powerless, or unwilling to do anything to check this mob violence. In most cases a little display of authority would have nipped the trouble in the bud, but *promptness* is not a virtue of Chinese mandarins and they prefer to feel their way along.

This craze of hostility was directed not only against Christianity but also against everything that was foreign, and at the same time beneficial. Native drug stores which sold foreign medicines, physicians who had received a training in western medicine, surgery, and dentistry were also objects of the hatred of the mob. Since the riots these practitioners, even though heathen, have lost almost all their patients. Those who pandered to the vices of the people by selling opium from Hongkong, and lottery tickets from Macao incurred however no danger from the rioters. Thus though this outbreak was anti-foreign, it was also an uprising against the true

and the good. Satanic malice was at the bottom of the whole movement.

CAUSES.—If we seek for the causes of this outburst of popular violence they are not hard to discover. Nor does the blame attach exclusively to the Chinese, but fairness obliges us to say that we have suffered through the faults of men from beyond the ocean, as well as those of the people of the Central Kingdom.

It is undeniable that there is strong feeling of *race-hatred* among the Cantonese against Occidentals. This is not peculiar to them though it may exist in a more virulent form. We see the same in India and elsewhere. Asiatics differ from Europeans in their customs, habits, prejudices, and modes of thought as much as they do in dress. Both think themselves superior in the points on which they pride themselves. This self-conceit is a prominent trait in the Chinese character. As Canton has been the point of contact with Europeans for so many generations this race-conceit is synonymous with patriotism with the scholars and masses.

It must be admitted too that the conduct of foreigners has not always tended to remove this feeling from the minds even of the more thoughtful and better disposed. They see in the men of the West examples of the triumph of force, and the benefits of material civilization, but also they see instances of moral degradation. Commerce brings many evils in its train. A seaport frequented by the ships of all nations is too often a moral cesspool. Then, the moral sense of the better class of minds has been shocked by the opium trade, the coolie traffic and the legalized gambling and piracy of Hongkong and Macao. These two ports at either side of the Lintin bay have been the outposts of immorality in the eyes of the Chinese. The traffic in opium, with all its ramifications, smuggling, bribery, and the sapping of the strength of youth and stealing away the savings of the family has its center in Hongkong. Macao is identified with piracy, coolie kidnapping, and legalized gambling. What was the introduction of the foreigner to Swatow? As a dealer in opium and coolie. Is it surprising

then that the popular estimate of the foreigner is low in the eyes of the Cantonese? I do not mean that the influence of foreigners has been altogether injurious. It is not the fact. But human nature is such that it emphasizes the objectionable points in an enemy or a rival, and overlooks the favorable ones. Especially is this the case in times of popular excitement.

The *Hongkong Chinese Press* has a bad influence. It generally merely caters to the tastes and prejudices of its patrons. Reveling in a freedom which it could never enjoy in China itself, it has abused the protection of a Christian government to excite its readers against foreigners, and against Christianity. So great has been the abuse that the Government of Hongkong had to summon the editors of two principal sheets to trial before the court. But we never hear of a Chinese newspaper losing any subscribers because of its obscene contents, or on account of its inciting to assassination or murder. The general influence of these papers is anti-foreign, and anti-Christian. Not only have their false news and skilfully concocted telegrams mislead the people, but they have covertly encouraged the people, or even more openly incited them to destroy Christian chapels and persecute the native Christians.

The killing of an innocent Chinese boy by the Englishman Logan in a drunken spree, and the troubles culminating in the riot of 1883 so stirred up the hearts of the people that the feeling of exasperation against foreigners has not died away yet. This was another cause of the outburst of anti-foreign violence in September 1884.

The *pretensions of the Roman Catholics* have done much to prejudice the Chinese against Christianity. The priests assume the privileges of official rank, often claiming the right of visiting mandarins as peers, sometimes putting up lanterns at their doors with official titles, and resorting to various devices to give themselves an official *status*, and so to gain an influence among the people. This of course provokes the jealousy of the mandarins and gentry. Then they have claimed the privilege of sanctuary for their churches, and have claimed protection

over native converts, rescuing them from the power of the civil law. While this right of asylum here, as when exercised in the middle ages, may often defend the persecuted Christian from oppression, it also now, as then, sometimes gives shelter to the guilty. Hence the Chinese officials complain that the Christian Churches become refuges for men who refuse to pay their taxes, and are even guilty of crime. It is commonly repoted that a man in Canton for whose arrest a reward of \$1000 was offered, joined the Roman Catholics and the priests said, "You cannot touch him, he is one of our people." The native priests are said to be quite overbearing in claiming access to the mandarins. Nor has this been entirely confined to the Roman Catholics, but native preachers connected with Protestant Missions are also charged with demanding admission into the presence of the local officials, and presuming on their connection with foreigners to claim civil privileges. There is often a good excuse for these things, as they are seeking to defend their fellow converts from the unjust oppression, and persecution of the heathen, and as the underlings throw every obstacle in the way of obtaining justice, they are tempted to claim as a privilege what they should seek as a favor. Still, all these things excite the ruling classes against Christianity. The scribes and Pharisees were not more jealous for the old order of things, than are the gentry and officials of China.

The *hostilities with France* certainly had much to do with the excitement. The unjustifiable conduct of this European Power provoked the people to the last degree, and especially reports that the French were about to attack Canton. That the Cantonese should be more irritated than the Chinese elsewhere is not strange. The proximity of the Two Kwang to Annam, the fact that many of the soldiers sent there were quartered in Canton, the exciting editorials of the Hongkong Chinese newspapers—all these things tended to kindle the hearts of the naturally turbulent populace here. It is noteworthy that though Foochow suffered so much, there was no outbreak against Christianity there, no chapels were attacked, and no native Christians suffered.

But the main cause of this outbreak of fanaticism was the *conduct of the Chinese high officials*. This certainly was the immediate cause. We went into the city to our chapel as usual on August 29th, and found the people no worse than for days before. The next day a faithful Christian coolie came to us and begged us not to venture into the streets on Sunday the 31st, as the people were leaping for joy over proclamations from the high officials, the Imperial High Commissioner, P'ang Yu Lin, and the Viceroy, and Governor, and Ex-Viceroy. These papers offered rewards varying from \$5000 for the apprehension of the enemies of the Emperor. A final clause stated that this meant the French and their abettors among the Chinese and Annamese. But the proclamations were sold about the streets, and published in the Hongkong papers, I understand, with this clause omitted. The popular interpretation and that cried out by the news-sellers was "\$100 for a foreigner and \$50 for a native Christian." An appeal had thus been made by the authorities to the strongest passions that rule in the breast of the Chinese mob, love of money and hatred of the foreigner. The news spread like wildfire. In a few days chapels at Fatshan, Shinhing Tsingyuen, Sanhi, Skeklung and elsewhere were demolished or robbed. The Roman Catholics were attacked and Protestants robbed. The authorities generally took no means to check the violence of the people, except sometimes to put out proclamations advising the people not to be riotous. There were one or two honorable exceptions. In Canton itself the Consuls protested earnestly and the Chinese Authorities put out a few feeble proclamations in a few obscure places, but not at the city gates where their proclamations are usually posted. On September 4th, a short proclamation protecting our dwellings chapels and schools was given to the Consuls. By September 14th, the Consuls had brought sufficient pressure to bear on the mandarins to lead them to issue a very good proclamation. These papers however were sent only to the Consuls for distribution to the Missionaries, to be posted at our chapels and schools and *were not posted up at the city gates or elsewhere by the Chinese officials*.

There seems very little doubt as to the *animus* of the Chinese officials, especially of P'ang Yu Lin the High Commissioner. He was well known for his anti-Christian proclivities. At his first arrival last year the heathen party were rejoiced, and reports were at once circulated that Christianity was to be suppressed. He issued a rabid proclamation which excited the people very much in which he said that China would not hold herself responsible for any losses which might ensue from the destruction of buildings belonging to foreigners by popular violence. This of course was construed by the mob as a permission to destroy chapels &c. This proclamation was suspended at the *yamen* and sold about the streets, but excited the people so much that it was disavowed, and not posted at the city gates.

After the conclusion of the Li-Fournier treaty, Commissioner P'ang sent a memorial to Peking protesting against the peace-policy, and giving five reasons for war, and five recommendations to the Throne. In one of these he speaks of chapels as the "Heavenly Lord's devil halls" and does not hesitate to recommend their destruction and the massacre of the priests and native converts.

On July 16th, he sent the following memorial to the Empress, among other recommendations for the government of the Kwangtung province.

"A distinction must be made between Christians and the (loyal) people. Since the Treaties have permitted foreigners from the West to spread their doctrines the morals of the people have been greatly injured. A number of loafers and needy people have been enticed into the churches through their desire for trifling gains; these have thus become a refuge for those who have escaped (the clutches of the law). In consequence of these ruffians and rascals being in the churches the local authorities cannot exercise control over them. Thus quarrels arise, and chapels are burnt and destroyed, and numerous evils ensue.

"Since we cannot now prevent men from joining the churches, we beg a clear permission to accomplish our ends by secret means.

(1.) That a register be made of all the Christians.

(2.) That all the Department and District Magistrates nail up on the front doors of the Christian's houses sign-boards on which "Christian" is written.

(3.) That all Christians be required to wear a different dress (from other people) that they be required to wear jackets only, and not be permitted to dress in long coats, in order that they may be exposed to ridicule and detestation, and so their proselyting may be checked, and their teachers may stop their preaching. Since they will exhort men to join their churches, those who join them should be distinguished from others. If men who have already joined them will not observe these regulations, this shows that they are ashamed of their religion, and if they are ashamed of their religion, the western teachers will not have anything to do with them.

"If the Christians have no distinctive badge they cannot be distinguished from the rest of the populace, and the officers will not be obliged to protect them. They should therefore all be registered that they may be held up to secret ridicule; have signs on their houses that they may be openly distinguished; and have distinctive clothes that they may be everywhere known. Those who would profess to be Christians before their teachers and deny it before the public would prove themselves the most odious of men, and would be a reproach to their Western teachers. Surely they would be proud of such Christians!

"By throwing these hindrances in their way they will have nothing to say. If this plan be adopted the Christians cannot scatter abroad their cheating, shameful doctrines; those who have not yet joined them will not readily make the trial, and the mandarins will be able to know how many have already joined the Christians.

"Your servant *Yu Lin* earnestly urges that this method be adopted in all the provinces, but it ought to be begun in the Two Kwang. I beg that orders may be given to the Viceroy and Governors to command the Department and District Magistrates everywhere to have a number of sign-

boards prepared. By this plan this craze will die out. As to the teachers, they should not be permitted to interfere on behalf of any who have lawsuits or are imprisoned.

"The treaty of Tientsin is known in all the Departments and Districts, and the officials are therefore afraid of getting into trouble, therefore they are patiently waiting for a change, as they cannot themselves move in this matter.

These being sentiments of the Imperial commissioner, the other officials generally took their cue from him. The mandarins bowed to the popular gale, formed by themselves. Even in the proclamations put out under foreign pressure the *animus* was perceptible to all who could read between the lines. Thus after the private proclamation of September 12th, had been distributed to the chapels, the Provincial Judge issued a public proclamation in sentences of four characters intended to be read by the people and posted everywhere like a placard. While urging the people to desist from violence he says :—

"As to the foolish men who have joined the churches,
They are also our subjects.
If they return and repent
They will be permitted to purge themselves.
As to how their matters will be settled.
The officers will hold the balances justly."

Thus the Christians are spoken of just as if they were rebels against the Government. It may be said that this applies only to the Catholics, as the French are alluded to in a preceding line, but the people make no such distinction, nor do the mandarins in their proclamations make any such distinction. 教民, *kiau min*, is intended to embrace all Christians both Protestants and Romanists. There is very little doubt but that this document was meant to counteract any favorable impresssion toward Christianity that might have been produced by that of September 12th.

So evident was it that the proclamation of August 30th, had caused the riots that one of the Consuls, at least, plainly told the Viceroy so, and the Chinese generally admit that the issuing of this paper was a grave mistake.

There can be no excuse for the Chinese acting as they did. Whatever feeling they might have against foreigners for debauching the people with opium and lottery tickets, they know that the Protestant missionaries in their daily preaching condemn these things. They know that in the days of coolie kidnapping we circulated tracts warning the people against the snares of the kidnapper, and that publicly and privately we denounced the coolie traffic. They know that our hospitals and dispensaries have been opened for years, giving relief to the sick and suffering. They know that Protestant churches have never knowingly shielded any one from the power of the civil law, and that very rarely, and then only through some mistake, have we ever interfered in any law suit—only when we thought, at least, that the man was unjustly accused on account of his attachment to Christianity. Even then there has been no arrogant assumption of power, but only a request that justice might be done. The mandarins know well enough that Romanism and Protestantism are different, and propagated by men of different nationalities,—that while French, Spaniards and Italians spread Romanism, there are no American, English or German priests working among the Chinese. The simple fact is that the old, conservative spirit leads the Chinese to be jealous of any foreign influence, except that which increases the military strength, and the material wealth, and that which panders to the self-indulgence of the people.

So much for the causes of these lamentable occurrences. What can be done to prevent a recurrence of such things in the future?

REMEDIES.—As to the *popular animosity* to men from the West, we can try to remove it more and more by presenting the benevolent and moral side of our Western civilization. We must try to remove the dense cloud of darkness from the minds of the people; by our public preaching, by the distribution of the printed page, by our schools, and by our hospitals and dispensaries; and by our prayers we must seek God's power to renew their hearts.

As to the *Hongkong native press*, some check should be put upon its license. It is not right that Chinese should abuse their freedom under the British flag to stir up anti-foreign and anti-Christian riots on the main land. While the influence of these papers may not stir up any overt attacks where English law holds the people in check, as in Hongkong, the effect is far different where this pressure is removed. It is not right that these men, under the cover of British law in the colony, should send their missiles of riot and disorder among the inflammable masses of China.

The most potent cause of these troubles, and the one most difficult to remove, is the *opposition of the ruling classes*. This seems to be more marked in Canton than in some other parts of China. Here it is unmistakable. The mandarins know that, while the provisions of the treaties relating to diplomatic and commercial intercourse will be enforced, those relating to Christianity may be easily evaded. They know that no Protestant power will go to war with China or bring any great pressure to bear upon her for the sake of the Christian religion. Protestant Missionaries themselves would rather lose all their chapels and property than have their religion forced upon a people at the point of the sword. The Chinese officials, knowing these things, try by every secret means and all kinds of cunning duplicity to restrict the progress of Christianity. We have too many proofs of this to permit any doubt. By their treatment of the native Christians, and of those who would rent houses in the interior for residences of foreigners, and for chapels, they show what their feeling is. This has been manifest at Ngchow, at Liachow, in the neighborhood of Swatow, and in other places. If the native Christians go to their own authorities, the mandarins too often say: "You belong to the foreigners; go to the Consul if you want to; we will have nothing to do with your case." If they go to the Consuls they are frequently informed that foreign governments have not proposed to establish a protectorate over Chinese Christians. What is to be done? The Chinese Government, under the existing treaties, guarantees protection

to native Christians. The mandarins ignore these treaty obligations. Who is to call them to account? Then, what does "protection" imply? Christians are beaten, their houses pulled down over their heads, their property is carried off openly, runners from the mandarin's *yamén* extort money from them, the mandarin puts out a proclamation advising the people to be quiet, and says he has afforded "protection." He sends some of the impoverished, houseless ones away in a boat, with the charge "never let me see you back here again." Is this protection? Are native Christians entitled to any compensation for their losses? At present all is uncertain. A striking instance has occurred here. The London Mission chapel at Fatshan was destroyed by a mob in 1871, and at the same time a house next door, belonging to one of the native Christians, was looted and injured. The Consul then claimed and obtained indemnity for the losses of the Chinaman. The same history has been repeated this year; and the Consul takes the view that the Chinaman has no claim that he can entertain. Which was right? Let us understand what protection means and how it is to be enforced.

(1.) I would suggest, then, that on the revision of the treaties something *definite* may be stated that there may be a uniformity of action. I mean *legal* action. Of course, sometimes *moral* means may be used and a case be done as a favor to a friendly Consul. What we want to know is, and what the Chinese Christians ought to know is, just where we stand.

(2.) The *status* of Chinese Christians should be clearly defined. They should not be treated and spoken of by the officials as though they are aliens or offenders, nor, on the other hand, should they be allowed to claim any exemption or privilege on account of their religion. (Of course, this does not refer to exemptions from idolatrous taxes, which are not governmental.) The two things go together. The native Christians are simply loyal Chinese subjects.

(3.) Let the attention of the Chinese Government be called to the fact of the distinction between Romanism and Protestantism. If the French priests take political and civil

offenders under the protection of the church, let the representatives of the three great Protestant Powers who have Missionaries in China assure the Chinese Government that such is not the desire or practice of the Protestant churches. All that we desire is liberty to proclaim the teachings of the Bible, and that those who of their own free will accept these teachings be treated as loyal Chinese subjects with all the responsibilities and privileges of their fellow subjects—that a Christian be treated just as a Mohamedan or a worshiper of Buddhist or Tauist idols.

Finally, I would warmly second Mr. Richard's suggestion as to forming a *China Branch of the Evangelical Alliance*. Putting aside minor differences, let us unite to try to obtain *religious liberty*. By union with the European and American Branches we may be able to call the attention of the various nationalities to flagrant cases of persecution and to bring the moral pressure of the civilized world to bear upon a heathen Government which, if inclined to do right, is so often thwarted by the conduct of its officials.

Let us hope that, by the blessing of Him who from "evil still educes good," great good may yet come from these fiery trials.

VI. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN CANTON CHINA.

BY THE REV. T. W. PEARCE.

The following account, from the pen of an English Missionary, will be found corroborative of the preceding in many points. It is taken from *The Chronicle of the London Missionary Society*, December 1884:—

Affairs at Canton appear to be slightly more settled just now (September 17th) than they were a fortnight ago. Proclamations issued by the highest native authorities have had the effect of keeping the people in check. Still, we have much cause to regret that this judicious and highly necessary policy of restraint was not sooner adopted. The past fortnight has witnessed many disturbances and risings on the part

of the turbulent populace, who have given vent to their feelings of enmity against foreigners.

Our chapel at Fatshan, together with the English Wesleyan building in that town, was the first to suffer from mob violence. This occurred on the second day of the present month (September). Since that date eight other Protestant chapels have been wholly or partially destroyed.

One was situated at Shek Lung, a large town half-way on the road to Poklo. This Shek Lung Chapel belonged to the American Presbyterian Mission, which has also lost two others—one at San Ui, and the third at Chuk Liu. The Wesleyans have had two chapels wrecked, besides the one in Fatshan; whilst the Baptists have suffered to the same extent.

Persecution of the Christians continues in spite of stern official prohibitions addressed to the persecutors.

Many of our brethren have been compelled to leave Canton and Fatshan for the reason that heathen landlords dare not permit them to occupy houses in either town.

Some of the Christians, with reason, considered themselves exposed to personal danger. Their houses were constantly threatened, and themselves not unfrequently assailed in passing through the streets. Several have suffered in estate and one in person from injuries inflicted by rioters when looting his house. To be a Christian is to be the object of everybody's ridicule and infamy.

The heathen think, or profess to believe, that the real desire of their mandarins is to take advantage of the present quarrel with France to expel all foreigners; and especially the foreign teachers of Christianity, with their native converts and disciples. The consequence of this widespread feeling is that; the Christians are often in bodily fear; and it is no wonder that those who could do so have fled to find, if possible, a quiet refuge in Hongkong, Macao, or some far-off village, which excited party feeling has not reached, and where heathen malice is not likely to follow them.

Our Sunday congregations are small, and we cannot yet resume daily preaching. The conduct of the native assistants

is praiseworthy. Young has kept at his post in Fatshan, and, by so doing, has much encouraged and comforted the brethren. The Fatshan Church still meets for worship in the missionary hospital belonging to the Wesleyans, which was not attacked by the rioters. Hung, at Kai Han, has been ordered by the local officials to remove with his family from the town; but this attempt to put a stop to our work there has been successfully resisted; and in Tsung Fa there are riots.

In Poklo the people, though riotously disposed, have not attacked the chapels; but Ng, the preacher in Poklo city, has removed by the advice of the magistrate to a dwelling-house at some distance from the chapel building. As regards the chapels in Canton, that on Sha Ki, opposite the foreign settlement, is safe, and special measures have been taken to protect the building in the Eighth Ward.

We all think that the worst ebullition of feeling has passed, and that the fury of the people, like the force of the recent typhoon, will soon be over, giving place to quieter times, and a better state of feeling.

It should be added that Dr. Chalmers is kindly taking steps to raise a small fund in Hongkong, to be applied to the relief of sufferers in extreme instances of loss and destitution.

Since my last letter was written, there have been fewer riotous demonstrations against the native Christians in and around Canton, though the state of things still leaves much to be desired. During the last six days reports have been sent in of acts of oppression, violence and robbery, done to individuals among the brethren at various places; but there is no instance of a chapel wrecked or looted. We may, perhaps, therefore, now hope that the acts of lawlessness which have continued so long will be stopped.

I am sorry to report that on the 19th of September one of our Poklo chapels, that at Tai Mi, was set upon by rioters. These left the walls for the most part standing unbroken, but the roof and all the wood-work of the building is entirely demolished, and the fittings and furniture have been either broken up or looted.

Ng, the Poklo preacher, has been in correspondence with me on the subject, and from him it appears that Tsi, the Tai Mi evangelist, was at the village of Li Tsun when the riot at Tai Mi took place. The villages are a considerable distance apart, and Tsi had crossed to Li Tsun to console some of the brethren there whose houses had been entered and robbed. He had taken with him a copy of the proclamation issued a few days previously by the Viceroy and Government of the province, the object of which is to protect Christians. Tsi had already come half the distance on his way back to Tai Mi, when news of the riot and wrecking of the chapel was brought to him. Having learned what had taken place he returned to Poklo city by another way.

The day after it had transpired the occurrence was duly reported to the Poklo District Magistrate, and the next morning police and soldiers were despatched to Tai Mi. A mandate was also promptly issued, requiring the gentry to arrest rioters and protect converts.

We are grateful for this display of energy on the part of the Poklo Magistrate. His conduct contrasts favourably with that of the high mandarins in Canton, and the local officials in other disturbed country districts.

In addition to the wrecking of Tai Mi Chapel, several of the Christians sustained serious losses, being robbed of nearly all they possessed. I have counted thirteen families in six different villages of the Poklo district whose houses have been forcibly entered and ransacked.

The authorities concerned promise restitution, and assure us that the chapel will be speedily built up again. It remains to be seen what steps they will take to repair the injuries done. Ng Sinshang assures me that the district is now quiet, and that no further violence is to be feared. Elsewhere there are indications that the evil-disposed people are not satisfied with the mischief already occasioned, and will do even worse things if not kept under strict restraint.

The following incident will speak for itself. The gentry and responsible heads of a township called Yan Chan Po,

which comprises twelve villages, all lying together outside the western suburbs of Canton city, have had occasion to issue a "notice" or "bill of regulation" concerning the internal administration of their township. One clause in the document relates to Christian converts living in the township, whom their neighbours are instructed to drive out. Our brethren are termed "seditious," "disorderly," "believers in Jesus." These terms to designate converts are evidently borrowed from the official proclamations, wherein persons who oppose the rule of the authorities are stigmatised as "seditious and disorderly."

In Fatshan, the brethren are watchful against their assailants, and, during the last fortnight, no attempts on their houses and property have been successful; but I will allow you to judge of the state of feeling in the town from what has just taken place at a great heathen festival, in which most of the townspeople, including the principal gentry, took part. This was the "All Souls' Festival," where masses are said and ceremonies gone through to free the souls of the unknown dead. The ten judgment halls of the nether world formed a part of the pageant, and among the figures in the eighth was one representing a convert to the Christian religion, with fetters on his hands and feet, and wearing a cangue, with the words written on it, "A Convert to the Christian religion, a rebel against heaven and all authority on earth." Our brethren have become "a reproach among the heathen."

It is very gratifying to be able to add that they remain faithful, and diligently attend the services where and when it is possible to meet. Yesterday was Sunday, and our congregation at Sha Ki was larger than usual.

Under the head of "Martyrdom in China," the following brief notice appears in the monthly publication of the English Presbyterian Mission, *The Gospel in China*, for November 1884. Though appearing in an English magazine, it is really from the pen of a German Missionary; but we quote the introductory remarks of the Editor:—

This account is given us by Dr. Lechler, the honoured and indefatigable head of the Mission of the Basel Society in

South China. The work of Dr. Lechler and his coadjutors is chiefly among the Hak-kas. They have been successful in this work to a remarkable degree. Their stations and churches cover the country from Canton to Swatow, where they meet those of our own Mission.

Dr. Lechler tells us that "a man of some ability, one of their Christian people, had been preaching for some months in a village, until one day he was seized by the people, dragged away to a neighbouring temple, and commanded to burn incense. When he positively refused, they were enraged, and replied that he must burn incense or die. Without hesitation he answered, 'I will never offer incense to another idol as long as I live. Kill me if you will, but I can never deny the Lord Jesus who died for me.' They took him then straightway to a steep precipice, where they cut off his head, and threw his body into the stream below."

The next article is taken from *Woman's Work in China*, November, 1884, a magazine published in Shanghai.

It is given as a detailed illustration of the action of unfriendly Magistrates, in dealing both with Foreign Consuls and Native Christians.

CASE OF PERSECUTION NEAR SWATOW.

ABOUT thirty miles from Swatow is a town called Chiu-huan-nia. Some three years ago a young man from this place heard the Gospel at a chapel three miles distant. He became a believer. He made the doctrine known to his friends, some of whom also accepted it. In course of time the number included the inmates of seven families, numbering about thirty persons in all. They met regularly for worship, sometimes going to the distant chapel and sometimes holding meetings in one their own houses.

This stirred up the wrath of some of the villagers. Chief among them was a certain man who acted as master of ceremonies at idol processions, and who handled the funds contributed on such occasions. It was the story of Demetrius

and the craftsmen, in Chinese surroundings. "This thing of becoming Christians must be stopped," said the man, "for," said he, "our village is small. We have all we can do now to raise money for the processions, and here thirty persons refuse to contribute longer. If we allow this thing to go on, others will believe. Our contributions will fall off, and by-and-by we shall have no processions at all. So this must be stopped."

The saying suited the villagers. It was resolved that "the thing should be stopped" thoroughly. Measures were at once taken. A series of grinding persecutions at once commenced. The people pledged themselves to have no dealings with the Christians. They would not buy and sell with them. They would not speak to them in the street. They would not let them have water from the public wells. They insulted them, frequently pelted them with stones, and ostracised them on all occasions. The disciples put up with this quietly, accepting it as a part of their heritage as Christians, and did not swerve from their faith.

The villagers proceeded to stronger measures. They invaded the fields of the believers, pulled up part of the growing crop and carried it off, trampling the rest under foot to render it worthless. The loss was heavy. They also forbade the manager of the joint-stock sugar mill from grinding any cane for the believers. The cane having been cut before this interdict was known, another grievous loss was sustained. It became evident that the disciples could no longer delay seeking protection. The Magistrate was unfriendly, but he was the only resource. They sent in their complaint, stating circumstances of the case. The magistrate cross-examined them roughly. "Was it indeed so, that they did not worship their ancestors," he asked them, "and that they did not contribute to idol processions?" They replied, they were taught to honor their parents while living, but they did not worship their tombs after they were dead. Further, they did not contribute to idol worship for it was wrong. The Magistrate snarled an answer, saying he would send and inquire. It was evident that he intended them no good. Several constables were sent

to the place, knowing well what kind of a report was desired by their master. They came back and reported that the story of the Christians was all a lie. There had been some trouble, but it was on account of their own misconduct. "Exactly so," said the Magistrate, and he threw the complaint aside.

Thus encouraged, the villagers now entered the patches of woodland owned by the disciples, and cut down all the trees some of which they sold for fire-wood and the rest of which they boldly stored in their own village.

One fresh attempt the Christians made for redress. Again they sent in a petition to the Magistrate, humbly imploring him to protect them from this continued robbery. According to usage, the Magistrate must take some notice of such petitions. Again was re-enacted the farce of sending constables. The latter were soon hobnobbing with the villagers, partaking of a feast to which they were invited, and pocketing the small sums they received. They made a report like the former. The stories were pure inventions by the Christians. No trees had been cut down and there was no occasion for any further inquiry. The Christians renewed their petition, all signing it with the mark of their thumbs, dipped in ink, by which they are sure to be recognized. They re-affirmed their story. They begged the Magistrate to send a special Deputy, not in league with the villagers, and if he found that they were telling a lie, they offered themselves to undergo any scourging the Magistrate might choose to inflict. The Magistrate told them tartly he would send no such Deputy. He would not believe their story and drove them away.

There was no chance for the Christians. The spring of the present year dragged away. The houses had been plundered, and the men themselves became afraid to enter the village. Their situation was deplorable. They were suffering for food, and several times received relief from their brethren in other places. It was not simply poverty, but starvation that stared them in the face. Still there remained to them some rice-fields some little distance away. A crop of rice was slowly coming on. The villagers allowed this to remain, intending

to cut and appropriate it themselves. As the ripening drew near the anxiety of the disciples was great. If they could only save their rice their families could get along until better days would come. Some three or four brethren from other villages volunteered to come and help them cut it in time to save it.

One disciple who ventured back to look after affairs was seized and severely beaten. He went to the Yamên to ask the Magistrate to examine his wounds and to grant redress. This is a usage at all Yamêns and one which a Magistrate cannot well evade. But the villagers were ready with an expedient. It was arranged that one of their number should receive a slight cut on the forehead. Smearing over his face the little blood that came out, to make the most of it, he too hurried off to the Yamên and reported that he and others had been assailed by this man. This was enough. His tale was at once accepted. The Christian was told that if he would first pay thirty dollars the Magistrate would examine his bruises; otherwise he would not. The Christian had no money to pay and so had to go his way.

Up to this time, we here had taken no part in the matter beyond advising the disciples to be patient, rendering them some assistance from time to time as their needy circumstances required. Though the Treaty has an Article against persecution, we do not think it expedient to avail ourselves of it except in extreme cases. Such an extremity seemed now to have come. We addressed a note to the courteous Baron von Seckendorff, German Consul, now acting as United States Consular Agent. He addressed a note to the Magistrate, calling his attention to gross violation of the Treaty by the villagers. To this was returned an insolent answer, declaring that the statements of the Christians were false and unfounded. At our request the Baron sent in a Chinese *attaché* of his own office to make observations and report to himself. The man went in. At that time the grain was ready to be cut. The owners of it, with the help already mentioned, hastened to gather it. The villagers, led on by the procession manager, turned out and seized them all, including the Consul's messenger, with his

guide and one of our preachers who were simply witnesses of what was going on. The Consul's messenger made himself known, but he was treated with derision. The Mandarin said the villagers was on their side and they did not care for Consuls. The mens' hands were tied behind their backs by the thumbs and then drawn upwards by ropes over the limbs of trees, and while in this position of torture, with their toes barely touching the ground, they were pounded and bruised without mercy. This completed, they were imprisoned in an empty house. The Consul's man managed privately to bribe a messenger to bring word to the Consul of the sad condition he was in. The Consul lost not a moment in sending two indignant protests to the officials, and likewise demanded the instant release of his messenger. This letter arrived at the Yamên in the night. The underlings of the Magistrate, who were in full sympathy with the villagers, at once hurried off a private messenger to notify them of impending trouble which they must guard against. The villagers saw that they must release at least some of their victims. But before they did so, and before the victims knew of the help that was coming, they trumped up three confederates of their own who were to come in as outsiders to settle the difficulty. These three fellows went to the prisoners, saying "We will help you out of this, but you must sign a paper that you will make no trouble about it after you are out. If you do not sign the paper we shall go away and the villagers will kill you." The frightened guide and preachers signed the paper. The Consul's man who felt sure of his master's intervention, refused, asserting that he did not know how to write. The villagers had no time to lose. They completed the transaction in haste as best they could and set the Consul's messenger, the guide, and the preacher at liberty to pursue their way back to Swatow. After they were gone, but not till then, came the constables sent by the Magistrate to inquire if these things were so. The villagers denied everything, and said the men had gone away of themselves. Answer to that effect was returned to the Magistrate who knew perfectly well that it was a lie.

But now the thing was to get up an answer to the Consul. Some of the men had been released. Perhaps that would pacify him. But then he might insist upon an explanation. Various devices were discussed. A favorite Chinese trick in such cases is to get up a countercharge. It was arranged that some woman of the village should come forward and testify that these men had committed a violent assault upon her person, and that for this they were beaten by the indignant villagers. A score of persons offered themselves as witnesses, and details of the story they were to tell decided upon.

Meanwhile, it was evident the Consul was terribly in earnest, again writing not only to the magistrate but to his superior. So something had to be done. The false evidence of various kinds was duly sent in, and from it the Magistrate framed another insolent reply. In it he alleged that the Consul's messenger had been guilty of various kinds of gross misconduct at the village and had suffered in consequence, abundant proof of which, he said, he had at his Yamên.

But while sending this, the Magistrate was afraid that the Consul himself might come in and demand an investigation and a trial. So he decided to forestall things a little by hurrying up the trial on his own account. The injured disciples and their persecutors were summoned to the Yamên. The constables were advised to re-cook their report to adapt it a little to facts which had become notorious. They now reported that a very few trees had been cut down, but they were of no great value, and that one pig had been carried away, and some trivial annoyances inflicted, but beyond this nothing. All this was done with the knowledge of the Magistrate. The day for trial came. The Christians were asked to state their grievances. They made a full and clear statement of all they had suffered and of the losses they had sustained. The Magistrate ridiculed them. However, he would adjudge them something, and offered them ten dollars. They begged him to consider what an inadequate compensation that was when their losses had been *two thousand* dollars. "Well then I will make it fifteen," said the Magistrate. Again the

disciples begged for justice. He became angry and said, "I understand you once settled this case by three negotiators, and signed a paper to drop the matter. Now if you do not accept an award of fifteen dollars in full, I will send for these negotiators and on their testimony I will punish you." The disciples pleaded that they had no voice in selecting these negotiators, and therefore, according to custom, they had no right to act. "No matter," said the Magistrate, "I will send for them and act on what they say." The brethren were required to give bail for their appearance while their persecutors were sent away in triumph, and there the case stands at the present time. The disciples are now considering whether they might not as well, first as last, leave their village, give up their homes to their implacable enemies, and start out in the world anew.

This story is somewhat long, but it shows what Chinese justice is, and what of late our converts have had to go through continually, in seeking redress for grievances at their own Yamêns.

The following extract from a letter of the Rev. H. L. Mackenzie, and Mr. Macgregor's letter to H. B. M. Consul, Amoy, are both taken from *The Gospel in China*, November, 1884. The former shows that, in this case, the gentry of the place were the leading movers, and it is well known how firm a hand is required on the part of the Magistrate of the place, when the gentry unanimously decide upon a riot. But the latter clearly indicates the animus of the Magistrate, and may be taken as an example of the untruthfulness of many of the despatches of such Magistrates, and the difficulties of negotiation in which Foreign Consuls are so frequently involved.

PERSECUTION AT SWATOW.

LETTER FROM REV. H. L. MACKENZIE.

SWATOW, 20th August, 1884.—I deeply regret to have to inform you that very severe persecution has broken out at Kong-pheng. The Gospel has been preached in that town for nearly ten years, and now a little flock of fifty converts has

been gathered in. Ten or eleven of these are Kong-pheng people; the others are from villages in the neighbourhood. Owing to its distance, we have paid fewer visits to Kong-pheng than to our other stations; it is between five and six days' journey from Swatow. It has been graciously ordered hitherto that no persecution worth speaking of has distressed the Christians there, though once and again their heathen neighbours have threatened to assault and plunder them. I have sometimes wondered that such a long time of peace was granted to the congregation there, and that they and we enjoyed such freedom from the worry and care of "cases." But at length, and this too is in the *good* providence of God, the storm has burst, and the little flock is feeling, and we with them, the rage and violence of the enemy.

On the 30th ult., at an early hour, the mob, encouraged by the leading people of the town, attacked the chapel, beat the preacher in charge, and plundered him and his wife and children of all their goods, save the clothes they wore. They then broke down the chapel, carrying away the furniture and woodwork—everything in fact, that was worth taking. Had their rage ceased then it would not have been so bad. But evidently the mob was incited not only to attack the chapel and preacher, the centre of the good work in Kong-pheng: they were determined to vent their rage on those of their own people who had joined the hated "foreign religion." They pillaged and destroyed in succession no fewer than eight houses of the converts. Some of these houses were, we are informed, not only emptied of all that could be carried off, but also completely broken down. The very walls were "razed," and the doors and window-frames taken. It will give you some idea of the determination of the mob when I tell you that four of the houses attacked are in villages in the neighbourhood of Kong-pheng, one of these being about a third of a mile distant, one over a mile, and one about two miles.

The rioters intended to attack another village in which there is a considerable number of Christians; but on hearing that the heathens and Christians combined and were prepared

to show fight, they desisted. It seems that in former years Chhenow, the village in question, and Kong-pheng have had feuds; hence the unusual combination of the villagers, Christian and non-Christian. The immediate pretext for this outbreak of mob violence was the repair and extension of our chapel premises. For years we have felt the need of more suitable accommodation; indeed, the place we put up in on our visits to the station was positively unhealthy, and both we and the native preachers have in some measure suffered from living in it. We resolved to improve the house, and make some needful addition to it this year; the commencement of this work was the signal for those who had long been waiting to find occasion against us. The "gentry" of the town applied to the District Magistrate, asking him to stop the building. They complained that the height to which it was to be raised would injure the prosperity of the town, etc. Now the fact is that the walls of the new part were to be only fourteen feet high, a height exceeded in several houses in Kong-pheng.

The Magistrate refused to interfere, declined to listen to their complaint. The "gentry" then took the law into their own hands, and taking advantage of the excitement produced by an idolatrous procession, intended to prevent cholera, they easily incited the townspeople to begin and carry out the work of pillage and destruction of which I now write.

Our hearts are sore for the poor people who have suffered this grievous wrong. It is a severe trial to their faith, and a time of sifting to the whole congregation. Meanwhile we have sent some of our more experienced assistants to inquire fully into the whole matter, to help those who have suffered in making their appeal to the Magistrate, and to encourage and comfort the congregation as they find opportunity. It was resolved that two of our number should go to Hai-Fung district city to see the Magistrate, and then, if the way was at all open, to Kong-pheng or neighbourhood to meet with the Christians. But, on communicating with the English Consul, he declined to hold himself responsible for our safety in the

present state of angry excitement between France and China, and advised that none of us should go. Accordingly we have put off going for the present, and are doing what we can in this painful case by means of our native brethren, seconded by letters from the Consul to the Taotai and to the Hai-Fung Magistrate. We have just heard that the Magistrate went to Kong-pheng to inquire into the matter, and also that, thus far, he has expressed himself with an unmistakable *animus* against the chapel and those who frequented it. It is the old story, the heathen and their rulers proud and bitter against the Lord and against His people, and cruel and unscrupulous in their enmity. We must just hold on to the forty-sixth Psalm, to Him who always cares for His people, and who will assuredly prevail. I would earnestly beg the prayers of the whole Church on behalf of the persecuted; deny us not this boon.

AMOY: THE TROUBLES AT CHANGPU.

LETTER FROM REV. W. MCGREGOR TO H.B.M. CONSUL AT AMOY.

Amoy, July 3rd, 1884.

SIR—I have carefully read the despatch of the Chang-chiu Tautai and the report of the Magistrate of the Changpu district included in it. In that report there are many statements far from correct, and the conclusion is based upon an erroneous assumption as to what is required to be done when a house is rented as a place of Christian worship.

1. When the chapel at Changpu was occupied by Mr. Watson, the Magistrate claims to have prevented a disturbance by sending police. The arrival of the police did not prevent a disturbance. It would be more correct to say it produced one. When some loafers, seemingly sent for the purpose, began to throw stones and threaten to destroy the chapel, Mr. Watson had to ask protection. After some time the police came, but (apparently) forgetting that the missionary could understand what they said, instead of trying to disperse the people, kept inciting them to further violence.

It was while they were thus present that the door was smashed, the chapel rifled, and Mr. Watson driven to take refuge in the Yamên.

2. In speaking of Mr. Watson having secured a house on mortgage, he says:—"What he did was to call on Tsai-chi in the first place to invite his creditors to meet him; then, in Tsai-chi's presence and on his behalf, he paid the debt; then, as soon as the acknowledgment of the debt was in his hands, but not before, declared his intention of establishing a chapel." This statement is wholly untrue. Tsai-chi was from the first told that the house was to be a Christian chapel. Why should he not be told? By the law of the empire as embodied in treaties with foreign Governments the establishment of chapels is a laudable proceeding in which no concealment is needed. Tsai-chi and the middle-men all knew the terms of the deed, in which it is clearly stated that the house is to be a chapel. On the afternoon of 19th May, they all met in Mr. Watson's presence to sign the deed, and before this was done it was read in their hearing, and all expressed their satisfaction. It was at a late hour of the same day that Tsai-chi came again to the chapel to receive his money. If he then brought with him any of his creditors, that he might at once pay them, that was his own affair, with which the missionaries have nothing to do. The truth is that the Magistrate was so determined to bring trouble on every one connected even in the remotest way with the chapel case that he hunted up the creditors of Tsai-chi, and by threats extorted from them the money they had received, and this is the money he now professes to have had lodged in his hands by Tsai-chi for the redemption of the mortgage.

In another paragraph the Magistrate says:—"Now, according to Tsai-chi's own clear deposition, Lai Hsin-Hsü, when negotiating the mortgage, spoke only of residence, and made no mention of the establishment of a chapel." Now, by the Magistrate's orders, Tsai-chi was beaten 400 strokes with the bamboo, the middle-man, Chin-Lo, was beaten 200 strokes, and the writer of the deed also 200 strokes. It was made very

clear that all concerned in leasing or mortgaging a house as a chapel were to be treated as malefactors. Is it strange that in such circumstances Tsai-chi should give evidence tending to excuse himself? If his evidence was given after he was beaten it is easy to see how it should take the form it does. If it was given before he was beaten, and the Magistrate believed him to be "completely fooled" in the transaction, why was he beaten at all?

The utter worthlessness of the depositions enclosed in the Magistrate's report is, perhaps, most apparent in the evidence said to have been given by the middle-man, Chin-Lo. He is reported to have said:—"On the 19th May, Lai Hsin-Hsü said, 'the deed was written,' and called upon me to act as middle-man. Hearing that it was proposed to establish a chapel, I declined to sign the deed." This deposition is forwarded by the Magistrate as giving part of the facts of the case. Yet Chin-Lo did, in Mr. Watson's presence, sign the deed. Also the Magistrate knows quite well that he did so, seeing that he has the deed in his possession, having obtained it from Mr. Watson on pretence of seeing if it was all correct, and then, on various pretexts, excused himself from returning it. If Chin-Lo did not sign the deed, what was he summoned before the Magistrate for? For what was he beaten? What connection had he with the case at all?

3. The magistrate complains that the deed was not brought to him to be stamped, and that the consent of the owner of the ground was not obtained. He seems to forget that the transaction was not a sale, but a mortgage. In a case of mortgage or lease, we understand it is not the general usage that the deed should be stamped. The interests of the owner of the ground were not affected by the transaction, as the house was secured under the conditions on which it was held by the owner. In point of fact, however, the owner of the ground was quite aware of the transaction, and at the time the disturbance arose, he was actually negotiating with Mr. Watson about receiving in one lump sum the annual payments of 400 cash, which would have to be given him for six years.

4. Omitting other matters of detail, I wish to draw your attention specially to the principle on which the Magistrate claims to have the case settled. His demand is that the providing of a place of Christian worship be gone about with formalities which can always enable the officials to prevent one from being got. He says:—"In time past it has always been the rule that any intention of establishing a chapel should be first communicated to the local authorities, that they might afford protection. In the present case such prior intimation has been omitted." In time past this has not been the rule. No such rule was laid down in any treaty with any foreign country. The first mention of such a claim is found in the "Memorandum of the Tsung-li Yamên upon the Missionary Question," circulated February 8th, 1871. In Enclosure 2nd of that document, Art. 8, the claim is put thus: "When Christians wish to buy land for the erection of religious establishments, or to rent public places, they should first, in conjunction with the owners of the property, lay the matter before the local authority, that he may ascertain whether the Feng-shui will be interfered with. If he allow the sale after inquiry, and if, moreover, the people of the place be not hostile to it, authority can be given to proceed."

The claims contained in the Memorandum were rejected by the foreign Governments as quite inadmissible. Yet, because the Viceroy and other high officials of the province of Fuh-kien have on their own responsibility issued a proclamation embodying this claim, the Changpu Magistrate demands that it be admitted in the settlement of this case, and has the hardihood to assert that the method of procedure laid down in it has always been acted on.

The method of procedure laid down in this claim is one that in its very nature implies, that to establish a chapel is so disreputable a proceeding, that all concerned ought to be assumed to be evil-doers and carefully watched. The Magistrate has acted on this assumption in seizing and beating the owner of the house, the middle-man, and the writer of the deed. His whole report looks at the case from this standpoint.

Why is Lai Hsin-Hsü abused by him as a schemer and a plotter? Simply because he assisted in looking out a house for a chapel. No other charge is brought against him. The Magistrate says of him:—"This project" (*i.e.*, the providing of a house as a chapel) "is an old one of his which he has often attempted to carry out without success. This time he keeps his name concealed and works in secret. The scheme beyond question gives plentiful evidence of mature deliberation, of having been pondered on while away [from Changpu], and of having been kept steadily in view."

Is the Magistrate so ignorant as not to know that to provide a house for Christian worship is in China a perfectly legal proceeding, on account of which a man is no more to be regarded with suspicion than on account of providing himself with a shop in which to carry on business?

5. Towards the close of his report the Magistrate says:—"Altogether the project is hurtful and unprecedented. If it be nevertheless persisted in and carried out with a high hand, lamentable disturbances will surely result.

No doubt there will be disturbances if the Magistrate encourage them, not otherwise. No one has been punished, or even questioned, on account of the riot when the chapel was attacked; but those who had anything to do with mortgaging it have, as stated above, been beaten and the owner of the house is still in custody. The Magistrate has done all he can to show that a chapel may be rifled with impunity, but that anyone who ventures to lease a house or site for a Christian church will be punished. Yet he has the effrontery to state that he has again and again urged the preacher Wu to take back the money, and "either to rent another house, or buy a piece of ground and build on it. In such case, if both parties are satisfied, and there are no other complications or objections, on informing the authorities a chapel might be established."

A house has already been mortgaged. Both parties are satisfied. There are no complications, except those of the Magistrate's creation. Let him stamp the deed if he judge that necessary; let him liberate the owner of the house, and

restore the money exacted from him and his creditors ; let him issue a proclamation that this mortgage is perfectly legal, and that any owner of houses or land may lease or mortgage them for Christian uses without fear or trouble. In this way the affair will be amicably arranged, and every one will be satisfied. If the Magistrate has special objections to our occupying this house, let him find for us another suitable house or site. We shall be prepared favourably to consider any such offer, on condition that the legality of all our proceedings be made known by proclamation, that the owner of the house suffer no loss, and that we continue to occupy the premises we have mortgaged until those provided by the Magistrate be secured by proper deeds, and, if necessary, suitable buildings be erected by us.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WM. MCGREGOR

(*For English Presbyterian Mission*).

To H.B.M. Consul.

The record of facts such as those given above cannot be confined to Missionary publications. The Home papers again and again have contained accounts forwarded by their China correspondents. Take the following from the Canton correspondent of *The Daily News*, under date October 13th, 1884.



PERSECUTION OF CHRISTIANS IN CHINA.

The Canton correspondent of the *Daily News*, writing on the 13th of October, says :—

The English and American Protestant Missions have sustained serious losses, and their converts have been bitterly persecuted. No lives have been sacrificed ; but homes have been broken up, men have been brutally beaten, and women, stripped of their clothing, and with the sword above their heads, have been compelled to renounce their faith. We have been accustomed to think dubiously of the conversion of

Chinese to the Christian faith; but however ignorant the native Christians may be of the higher duties and responsibilities of their religion, the firmness which they have displayed in the midst of these trying persecutions can only be regarded as strong evidence of their sincerity." The fact that in Canton itself the storm of anti-foreign excitement has done so little actual damage is due, the correspondent says, to the vigilance of the foreign Consuls, the constant presence of foreign gun-boats, and to the shrewdness of the Chinese Viceroy, who, though prompted by his own inclinations and by instructions from Peking to look with favour upon any circumstance which threatened to make other nations suffer in consequence of the military movements of the French, yet has been too wary to resist or to neglect the suggestions of the various Consuls with regard to the protection of the persons and property of foreigners. It is a common custom for the Court at Peking to issue double sets of instructions for the Provincial Governors; one set, appearing in the *Gazette*, is intended for the eye of foreign Ministers, and so is couched in general language which suggests no infringement of treaty rights; but it is the other set, often widely different in tenor, and so not submitted to public inspection, which represents the real policy of the Chinese Government.

As it is frequently asserted that the recent Missionary troubles are due to the French war, and the hope frequently expressed, that when this war is terminated, we shall see an end of this virulence of hostility, we have added extracts from an article by the Rev. T. Richard, which take us back two years, and refer to troubles far from the seat of war, in the year 1883, as well as some of more recent date.

In recounting them, Mr. Richard dwells upon persecutions from the common people, from the gentry, and from the officials, but the most formidable of these three classes is that which comes from the officials. Mr. Richard says:—

We begin with persecutions from the common people, such as labourers, farmers, and tradesmen. One man is charged with being unfilial because he is a Christian and is obliged to

flee from home for his life. Another has had his house broken into at night and his son so abused and beaten that he cannot attend school. A third is set on when at evening prayers, his books and clothes torn and he himself beaten. A constable and head of a theatre took a Christian to the Yamên for refusing a subscription to idolatrous theatricals. A headman of a village having a Proclamation sent by the Magistrate for him to post in the village to prevent the Christians being molested, would not put it out, and one of the Christians there was told he need not expect to have his debts paid him. Then a ditch was dug round his house, so that his wife who was blind could not possibly leave it. A placard was put up outside one of our houses accusing the Missionaries of being the chief cause of all China's calamities and urging the people to assemble and exterminate us. A society of several villages, called the Lien Chwang Hwei, has been formed for the purpose of resisting the progress of Christianity. One evening when the Christians were quietly at worship, a number of men belonging to this society fell on them, and twelve were more or less injured.

All this occurred in less than a year from April to October 1883. The year previous the Christians were persecuted by walling their doors and windows at night, by refusing water from the village, or by stoning them as they went to fetch it. Some have had their stacks of winter fuel burnt, and others have had their houses burnt. Some have been swung up by their thumbs over beams, others sent in chains to the Yamên without warrant. Some are threatened to be shot, others compelled to leave the villages where they lived: I have seen a woman who had been beaten black and blue, another had her head cut with a sword. Tradesmen form themselves into a society to exact an oath not to enter a place of worship. All Christians, men and women, old and young, baptized and unbaptized, are so accustomed to be abused with bad names in cold blood, that their perseverance is a standing miracle of the glorious power of Christian truth.

Again, the gentry persecute. In one city they combined to make a joint petition to the Magistrate that no house should

be rented either for chapel or dispensary; and when the British Consul insisted on getting a house, they excited the populace to employ the most abusive language wherever the Missionary appeared on the street, and heaped up such abominable filth before his door night after night that he had eventually to give up the place. In another city one of the gentry went into our school, without asking permission from the Missionary, and after leaving, circulated the report that foreigners kidnap children and send them off to the ports. He visited the leading men of the adjacent streets and exhorted them to get up a row so as to drive the Missionary away. That being unsuccessful he begged the Chihsien and afterwards the Chi-fu to exercise his influence to prevent the Missionary residing in the city. In another city a B.A. (*siu-tsai*) lays a false complaint against three native evangelists, and a warrant is issued at once to arrest them. In another, one of the gentry who had been a military student, armed himself with a sword and headed a mob which battered the door of a newly rented house with stones and bricks and threatened the Missionary's life. He was fortunately absent that night. Placards also were circulated about another house, threatening to burn it down, beat the foreigner and kill the middleman. Prizes were offered for the best essays in the same style as the "Death-Blow to Corrupt Doctrines." The children of Christians are often refused admission to Confucian schools.

But the most formidable opposition is from the officials themselves. On a dozen Christians, who had been attacked, asking the Magistrate for redress, he abused them soundly for leaving the religion of their ancestors and told them to go home and live in peace! When the Missionary appealed in their behalf nothing was done. When a Christian was brought to the Yamên for not subscribing to theatricals he was punished, ostensibly for transgressing Yamên etiquette. Afterward he was prevented from opening his shop, and, asking protection, was told by the Magistrate, "You are a Chinese subject, wear Chinese clothes, eat Chinese food, trade with your own countrymen; why do you follow foreign heresies?"

In one village three attacks were made on the Christians in one month, and when redress was sought, not only was none given, but they were told by the Magistrate that they made a great mistake if they expected foreign Missionaries would be able to protect them all their lives. When Proclamations *are* issued to prevent the Christians being molested, the very rare occasions on which their persecutors are punished at all, tend to make them nothing more than a dead letter.

Soldiers rush into a house with swords and spears and create a disturbance while the Christians are in the midst of their worship. A Manchu Lieutenant-general puts forth a Proclamation forbidding the Manchus coming near the Missionary, and the Manchu city for a long time after was so hostile that the Missionary had to go round the city instead of through to avoid the insult and abuse consequent on walking quietly through it. A husband goes to the Yamên to beg for redress for his wounded wife. For two days he has to wait and be abused by the underlings for becoming a Christian, and when he does see the official he is exhorted to live at peace with his neighbours and sent home with a plaster to put on the wound. That is his redress! A Missionary rents a house in that city and the neighbours object. He says he is willing to take any other they will get instead. They refuse to get him any, and he takes possession temporarily until he can get another, and then a man arms himself with a sword and gathers a mob, and attacks the house at night. The District Magistrate refuses to punish the leader in any way; on the contrary a warrant was issued to arrest the landlord and middlemen as if criminals, although *they* were among the chief of the gentry.

The Magistrate further invites the leader of the disturbance and a few of the gentry to his Yamên and tells them that in Honan once, when a mob set fire to a Missionary's house, he ran away and was so scared that he never returned again. The bluntest present could not misunderstand his suggestion. When placards were put out against the Missionary's occupying a house where there were *no* neighbours objecting to his doing so, threatening to burn, injure and kill, the Magistrate

positively refused to take any action to check the lawlessness. On appealing to the Chi-fu, he also refused to interfere, referring the Missionary to the Chihsien again, and then instead of the Chihsien doing any thing, he had the audacity to repeat the threat of burning the house in the face of the Missionary. The Chi-fu threatened to dismiss from his Yamên a man who had been friendly for years to the Missionaries, unless he discontinued his visits to them. Then, when the majority of the people were friendly or indifferent, the Chi-fu, Chihsien and a military official in the place instigated a lawless rabble to make mischief. The result was not only to make it extremely difficult for Missionaries to rent new houses, but to retain those in which they lived. One landlord has refused to keep the agreement formerly made unless more money be given.

The above difficulties occurred in the prefecture of Tsingchou in Shantung. In the prefecture of Tsinan we have work in five other counties (*hsiens*). Some of our evangelists in those districts had been assaulted arrested and driven out. To prevent repetition of the same lawlessness, a polite letter was sent to each Magistrate of the five districts, requesting the issue of Proclamations to instruct the people not to molest preachers peaceably pursuing their calling, &c. Only *one* sent a civil answer, two refused, one sent no reply, and the fifth contemptuously refused to see even the card, adding: "Is not the Governor gone to Chefoo to exterminate all the foreign devils?" and other violent and abusive language which the messenger would not repeat.

To sum up, all the above took place in the English Baptist Mission alone, mainly in the prefectures of Tsingchou and Tsinan, in the province of Shantung. With *one* exception all the cases have occurred within two years. Not that there were no persecutions before, for very severe cases occurred, but those took place at a time when a colleague now absent in Europe was in charge. These not being so well known to us are therefore omitted.*

* See *Chinese Recorder*, July-August, 1884, "Christian Persecutions in China—the Nature, Causes Remedies."

CONCLUSION.

Such are some of the facts of the case, many more might have been added, but these, perhaps, will be sufficient, both in number and variety, to enable the reader to draw some conclusion as to the position of affairs, and the necessity for action; for whilst it is true that in many instances riotous proceedings have been promptly suppressed by Chinese officials, and in many more, vigorous action on the part of Foreign Consuls has obtained redress for injuries sustained after riots have occurred, there still remains a long list of persecutions, which loudly demand remonstrance and suppression.

Lawless rowdyism, brutal and unprovoked assaults, unchecked incendiarism, abusive and inflammatory manifestoes are against all law, Chinese or European, and, like the Dynamite Explosions of the West, should be put a stop to, irrespective of nationality, political party, or religious creed. On this point there can be no question. But if this is to be effectually accomplished, we must get to the root of the evil, and search out the real causes of these things. After careful perusal of the facts, we are led to the following conclusions:—

1. That, whilst there have been instances of united and determinate opposition on the part of the people (apart from the action and attitude of the local officials), these cases are comparatively rare, and that without other incitement, riots, originating with the masses, would be of infrequent occurrence.

Base and violent men are to be found in every large city, whether in China or elsewhere, but it is a well known fact that where the Magistrates are well disposed such persons in China are easily kept in check and seldom dare to disturb the public peace by lawless and disorderly proceedings.

2. That when such disturbances have taken place they might, in most cases, have been suppressed by the local authorities.

We have but to compare the peace which has reigned within the borders of the Fuhkien province with the rioting which has been so rampant in Kwangtung. If anywhere in China we might have expected disorder, it would surely have been in the Fuhkien province, where the Chinese have suffered such disastrous defeat during the present war, and yet we find a Missionary writing "that whilst there have been a few cases of abuse and loss of property, there is not known to have been a single case of personal injury to a native Christian connected with either of the three Missions on account of the war." And again:—"For the last few months the Missionaries visiting out-stations and touring in the country have been well received, and have brought back favourable reports respecting the work." And the same may be said of almost every station, where the same precautions have been taken as were taken in Fuhkien, that is, where the local authorities have co-operated with the Foreign Consuls in honest endeavour to repress all hostile outbreaks, or have themselves issued Proclamations to that effect, as in the case of the Pok-lo Magistrate in Kwangtung.

3. That the main cause of these persecutions is traceable to the attitude, or the action, of the officials. This is notably the case in the Canton province, where the lower officials have so faithfully followed the example of the higher. In proof of this, we have but to point to the Proclamation and the Memorial of H.E. Pěn Yu Lin, and to the Proclamation of the Provincial Judge.

No wonder, when such proclamations are issued by the Provincial Authorities, that District Magistrates feel free to adopt a policy of inaction, or one of direct hostility, and the "gentry" to follow suite. And when it is generally known that such is the attitude of the officials, it is not difficult to predict the result. Indeed, it is not saying too much to assert that, if Chinese officials determined to do so, in nine cases out of ten, they could prevent such riotous outbreaks as those which have recently occurred.

What then, it may be asked, is the remedy for this state of things? We may briefly reply, that it is to be found in

the exact definition of, and simple adherence to, established and acknowledged Law.

Let the status of the Foreign Missionary and that of the Native Convert be clearly defined and widely made known by the Central Government, and let the Great Provincial Authorities be made to understand that such status must be honestly respected by the local Magistrates, and let this be done openly and generously, and persecutions such as are now complained of would soon become things of the past.

For lack of this, we find in Government Despatches, in Official Proclamations, in Memorials to the Throne, and in Village Regulations, an underlying assumption that Chinese Christians are "rebels against the Government," "seditious," and "disorderly," and hence, that it is but patriotic to rise up against them. Now, so long as this impression is allowed to prevail, what can we expect but animosity and persecution?

If, however, the status of Chinese Christians were but clearly defined, their amenableness to law on the one hand, and their religious rights on the other—and this made known by a Proclamation throughout the Empire, similar to the one issued in the case of Mr. Margary's murder, much animosity would die out, and much persecution pass away.

The same may be said with regard to the Foreign Missionary. If the status of Missionaries, too, were but clearly defined—their position as Teachers of Religion and Morals on the one hand, and as private citizens holding no official rank on the other—many suspicions would be allayed, and many dangers evaded.

But exact definition without a righteous enforcement of the law would avail but little. Violators of the public peace should be dealt with as other violators of a nation's laws. Officials who, whether by action or inaction, connive at or instigate the riotous proceedings of the mob should be dealt with more severely than that mob.

And as in regard to the slave trade, questions of nationality are sunk in the vaster interests of humanity, so in regard to brutal persecution, lawless rioting, and inhuman

cruelty, the claims of humanity should supersede all narrower claims and the protection of the persecuted be as dear to us as the rescue of the slave.

But whether the ægis of official protection be thrown over the persecuted Chinese Christians or not, of one thing we are "persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate" them from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

Duplicates